

PEACE NEWS

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2d.

A PACIFIST CHALLENGE TO THE WAR PARTIES

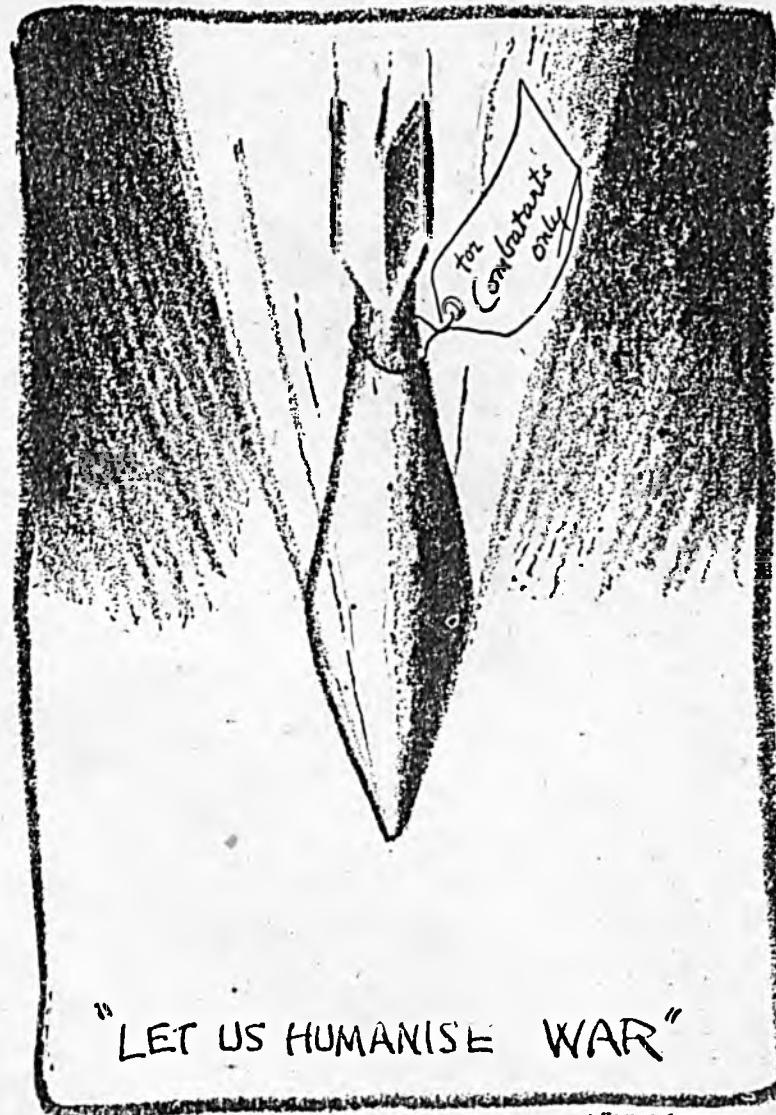
RUSSIA HAS SPIKED THE GUNS: WHAT NOW?

by



Wilfred
Wellock

MAKE SURE
OF YOUR
"PEACE NEWS"
see p. 8



"LET US HUMANISE WAR"

LENNOX

Stop the War: By-Election Issue

The pacifist and independent socialist movements are preparing to make a sensational challenge to the Government-Opposition war coalition.

Led by the recently formed Scottish Anti-War and No-Conscription League Council they will sponsor a "Stop the War" candidate at the forthcoming by-election in Clackmannan.

They believe that the result will clearly show that there is no enthusiasm for the war in the country, which was not consulted before the Government entered the conflict.

It is almost certain that the candidate will be Andrew Stewart, Assistant Editor of "Peace News," since his is the sole nomination announced, and the Council meets on Sunday to make the formal adoption.



The Scottish Anti-War and No-Conscription League Council represents all pacifist and socialist societies in Scotland, including the Peace Pledge Union and the I.L.P. With Andrew Stewart as the candidate the Council is assured of the wholehearted backing of the PPU nationally.

Funds and offers of support are urgently required.

This is no narrow political campaign. This is the raising of the standard in a Crusade for Peace and Freedom. Ask yourself "What can I do to ensure its triumph?"

All monies, offers of help and suggestions should be sent to: Mrs. Ethel Campbell, Scottish Anti-War and No-Conscription League Council, 70, Robertson Street, Glasgow, C.2.

Do not delay. There may be only a fortnight in which to plan, to act, and to triumph!

TWICE within the space of a quarter of a century Russia has challenged the social order of capitalism with a coup which has thrown the whole world into confusion and changed the course of history.

The Russian Revolution of 1917, which shook Europe to its foundations, has been paralleled by Russia's march into Poland. That event has so completely changed the international situation as to demand an immediate cessation of hostilities. Indeed it is not too much to say that it has spiked the guns.

Here are the facts:

(1) Russia is in possession of half of Poland. It is therefore obvious that a war to restore the former Polish régime will involve war with Russia. Are the people of Britain and France prepared for that?

It is true that Russia has declared her neutrality in regard to the wider issues of the war, but since the restoration of Poland is included in the War Aims of Britain and France, that declaration is without meaning.

Aims of Russia

(2) It is reported on the wireless and in the Press that Soviet Russia is placing Commissars in every district she occupies; that these Commissars are putting the peasants in control of the big estates and setting up workers' and peasants' Soviets (village committees), and also that Russia is sending armies of educators and demonstrators with a view to raising the status and the standard of living of the Polish peasantry, which is admittedly one of the most oppressed peasantries in the whole of Europe.

Because of this development it is questionable whether the Polish peasants will want to go back to the old régime, and also whether large numbers of people in Britain and France who have hitherto supported the war will now feel able to do so.

Allied Victory Feared

(3) In view of the pass to which the struggle for imperial power—that is, for economic monopoly—has brought the nations of Europe, Soviet Russia is naturally very uneasy at the prospect of a Franco-British victory over Germany, for vital reasons.

While British and French Labour declare that among the war aims shall be the ending of economic monopoly, or imperialism, the British and French Governments have not said that, but keep to the single point mentioned by Mr. Chamberlain when war was declared, that this is a war against Hitlerism, which, of course, involves the restoration of the pre-war Polish régime. And I think it not unreasonable to conclude that in the economic conditions which will prevail at the end of a prolonged war, should Britain and France be victorious they will not be inclined to give up any of their economic advantages, although they may do so in part should they succeed in erecting a Government in Germany with which they could work in concert.

In either of these events, it might be necessary, with Japan also in mind, for Russia to look to her laurels, especially as she knows that her greatest enemy has always been capitalist Britain. Hence the necessity for protecting herself by timely action, is an important factor behind the Russo-German Pact.

If War Develops

(4) Russia and Germany are Totalitarian States whose economic systems are becoming increasingly alike. Hence if the war develops it will almost certainly become a conflict between two forms of National Socialism on the one side, and the Imperialist Powers on the other.

That will change the whole character of the struggle, and will create a revolutionary situation throughout Europe. (I cannot here give the evidence in support of the first sentence in this section, but readers of *Peace News* will be aware that I have on several occasions supplied such evidence in these pages during the last 18 months).

(5) After a lengthy war there would be such a state of financial exhaustion, general confusion and economic collapse, that resort to Dictatorship would be inevitable in

(Continued on page 8.)

A Pacifist Commentary

What Imperialism Means :: The Real Villain :: False Gods

SO often is it explained that "wars and rumours of war" are fundamentally due to "the clash of rival imperialisms," whatever the immediate occasion, that it would be well to know what is meant by "imperialism."

An excellent definition is given in the October issue of *Empire: A Monthly Record*. In an article which, in fact, deals with the question "Why war?" and which points out that "Hitler" is "only an occasion—not a cause," I read:

"Imperialism is the name given to the continuous struggle between great Powers to promote a revision of the earth and its riches more favourable to themselves than the existing one, or to resist one less favourable."

The description fits this war as well as any. It is therefore no mere parrot-cry to say that it is simply another imperialistic struggle.

But what is more to the point is that it represents a condemnation of war and indicates a clear course of action. In the first place, it exposes the real "war aims" of both sides—whatever they may say—and shows how impossible it is to hope for the attainment of idealistic results by means of war.

And in the second place, this clear definition of the nature of the war puts the blame where it really belongs—not so much on one country or another as on the system of imperialism. The obvious course of action is not to try to blast one country or another to pieces (which means the ordinary people, who don't even stand to gain much if their country's imperialistic aims happen to be the successful ones), but to put an end to the system of imperialism.

Which means (to return to one definition) putting an end to the struggling of Powers for the riches of the earth. There may be several ways of doing that, some more practical than others, but if people would unitedly concentrate on demanding that this essential cause of war be removed—instead of perpetuated by fighting over it—I for one would not be disposed to hold up that task by insisting that it must only be done by the particular method that I favour.

Incidentally, if people could be brought to see that it is this struggle for the riches of the earth that is the real villain of the piece, we should be in a fair way to stopping the war, since it is mainly supported on the erroneous ground that "one man" is the villain.

Economic War

THE appointment of Mr. R. H. Cross to be Minister of Economic Warfare was announced in the *Daily Herald* with the comment that "the work will not be altogether new to him," as "for more than a year he has been Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade."

So the peace-time activity of the Board of Trade is apparently that of the Ministry of Economic Warfare!

That is the very attitude that must be overcome in our endeavours to lay the foundations of a real peace as soon as hostilities can be stopped.

This Is War

SIR SAMUEL HOARE, Lord Privy Seal, speaking on the wireless last Friday said: "I am certain that at no distant date there is scarcely an able-bodied man or woman whose services the country will not need."

This is war! Compare this to the interest taken by various governments in the lot of the unemployed, the aged and incapacitated, in peacetime. In wartime there are no obstacles in the way of getting the necessary legislation passed, but otherwise, to secure even a minor reform, a battering ram is needed, nearly, to push it through if it is to find a place on the Statute Book.

It is interesting to examine closely the reasons for the National Register. The schedule is so framed as to give the Government at a glance the man (and woman) power available for various purposes in the prosecution of the war. This inventory may well be a "Doomsday Book" indeed.

Sir Samuel Hoare concluded his speech by declaring, "For we know that we shall win, and we are certain that we shall see

the triumph of faith over brute force of the new paganism."

Fine phrases like this may pass for genuine sentiment, when listened to without much regard to the history of the past being taken into account, but after this has been done they sound very spurious and assume the proportions they rightly deserve. In fighting the battalions of Mars many false gods will be called upon, but in the end they will have, as Byron so aptly puts it, "avail'd not."

The values which make life worth living remain constant. They never are influenced by purely external considerations. The sooner we can make the public appreciate these basic principles the nearer will we be to removing the causes of war. Shall we harness all our man (and woman) power on this, and this alone? A great chance today is ours if we are willing to take the same risks for peace as so many are taking for war.

Those Leaflets

WHILE we deplore all the diabolical machinations of war, we naturally are less critical of the RAF dropping leaflets on the German people than bombing them with high explosives.

Yet the leaflet which has been dropped this week is one which is couched in language far removed from inspiring confidence in the ordinary German that the Prime Minister's assertion that we are not at war with him but that our only concern is to overthrow Hitlerism is the honoured

pledge the Germans were first led to believe. The leaflet reminds the Germans that the British Army is already "standing shoulder to shoulder" with the French troops massed on the German frontier, and that the British and French fleets have "swept German merchant shipping from the oceans."

Therefore, the leaflet continues, "your supplies of a whole range of essential war materials, &c., are almost gone." It does not mention that this action will also have the effect of reducing the essential food-stuffs as well, unless the Government implies that the term "essential war materials" covers such commodities.

I would suggest that the Ministry of Information department responsible for framing propaganda for German consumption should consult Professor John Hilton before another raid of this kind. The warmth the German people will best respond to, in the end, will be the kind kindled by the "milk of human kindness," and not the incendiary matter which must inflame the feelings of any proud self-respecting nation. Next time then, a friendly word or two: as will truly give the German people hope that we are, if that is the real objective and the main plank of the Government's War Aims, out to liberate them from the tyranny of Hitlerism.

Observer

This commentary, in common with other contributions appearing in "Peace News," must not be assumed necessarily to represent the views of the Peace Pledge Union

THE FIRST "ATROCITY"

THE sinking of the liner *Athenia* has provoked widespread and natural indignation. It has given a fillip to recruiting.

It has been made the occasion for the recital of all the well-known—and always disregarded—"rules of warfare." Comment of this kind is pointless. There can be no immutable laws in warfare. There is no civilized and legal way of killing your enemy in the mass and rendering him powerless in the conflict.

Only those who renounce the whole beastly and futile war method are on safe ground in protesting against inhumanity of this kind.

Follow Up Those R.A.F. Leaflets

"The RAF is doing useful work in telling the German people why the British people cannot trust Hitler," says the secretary of Federal Union in the latest issue of *Federal Union News*. "But they must do more."

"They must convince the German people that they can trust the British not to make another Versailles. If we invite the German people to get rid of Hitler, we must tell them what is the alternative."

"Federal Union alone provides them with that equality and justice which they have demanded and ourselves with the security which we require."

NOTICE TO PPU GROUP SECRETARIES

Andrew Stewart, having set out for Scotland to contest the Clackmannan by-election, is unable to fulfil any of his October engagements. Group secretaries who desire substitute speakers should get in touch immediately with Roy Walker, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.I.

From the Editor's Notebook

No Suppression of Opinion Our Authoritative Contributors Tonight's Registration

I HAVE often been asked whether "the offset the surprisingly good impression which most of the PPU speakers get of authorities" show any signs of interfering with the work *Peace News* is trying their public.

As usual, my correspondent points out to do bring peace in spite of the existence of a state of war and a form of that it is those who are doing nothing for censorship.

The answer is "No!" On the contrary, have fought in the last war) who have the attitude of the Government and "the called him a coward. It is certainly difficult authorities" generally is remarkably cult to be patient with such people. But I am sure it is the right basis of any dealings

It is public opinion that shows what with them.

slight signs there are of any intention to My correspondent (whose name is not interfere, although, as we have pointed out, Walker!), after describing their exasperating illogicality and refusal to hear arguments, asks plaintively, "What would you do, chums?"

In fact, I believe it is the influence of their private opinions as citizens, and not By the way, another official statement it any instructions from headquarters, that would be useful to remember in case you have led a few police officials to take action meet a "little Hitler" in the event of an locally to prevent the free expression of air raid warning is that of the Ministry of

We have not had any complaints of action taken against *Peace News* distributors, but a Peace Pledge Union member in at his own risk." London told me this week that the police Although, of course, one is advised to go had visited his house and taken away some leaflets headed "The Truth About War," which he had printed on a hand press, and other "peace slips" which he had printed and distributed himself.

There appears to be no justification at all for the suppression of free opinion. Not only have I been personally and categorically informed by a high official of the Ministry of Information that comment is still free, but SIR EDWARD GRIGG said in the House of Commons on September 21:

"I can give the fullest assurance that there is no intention on the part of the Ministry so to exercise their powers as to restrict the free expression of opinion, including the critical examination of any aspect of Government policy, save in so far as this might convey information which might be useful to the enemy."

So far from being people who are "wise after the event," we have just seen, for example, that two of them were among the very few people in this country who long ago stated that Russia and Germany would come together. Last week PROFESSOR G. E. G. CATLIN recalled in these columns his prophecy of this alignment.

Now I have been privileged to see a MS. which WILFRED WELLOCK (whose forecast of the event we printed in April of last year) sent to a publisher early in August, and which contains some very interesting passages which throw the sort of light on current events which most people are wanting, since those events are very puzzling.

I have to say "comparatively" because a Buckhurst Hill correspondent draws my attention to the fact that there is some unpleasantness about—to put it mildly—to After describing the "socialist" measures

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A NUMBER of readers will, I know, be interested in the suggestion which CECIL H. WILSON, M.P., makes in his article on page 3, regarding the filling up of the registration form by all householders tonight.

Several people I have spoken to or heard from have already decided to indicate, under the heading "occupation" the form of service to their fellow men in which they are occupied in addition to that which is their profession.

One correspondent in Scarborough even writes:

"To food rationing I will submit, but not to industrial conscription. I therefore intend to withhold the nature of my workaday occupation, which under conscription could be of furtherance to the war, and in its place, despite the penalty, shall record my occupation as 'Methodist local preacher.'"

"NEGOTIATE OR PERISH"

How a Hungarian Sees the War

MAN MUST ADAPT HIMSELF TO CHANGING CONDITIONS

IN the following article a Hungarian correspondent points out that the present war will not settle the problems which face mankind.

"If mankind is unintelligent," he writes, "it will perish. If he is intelligent, *homo sapiens* must choose the method of negotiation."

By Bela Nanay

J. H. FABRE, the famous French naturalist, once said that insects were not intelligent beings.

He experimented with a wasp. He closed up the hole through which it used to go in and out of its nest, and made a new hole near it.

But the wasp obstinately scraped at the closed entrance, and didn't see the new one quite near. And so it perished, because it was accustomed to the old way and could not accommodate itself to changed conditions.

It seems to be the same with mankind. The conditions of human life are constantly changing, and mankind should adapt itself to them.

But, as history proves, it foolishly insists on the *status quo*, on the accustomed way of doing things. And by main force it tries to keep things as they are.

By "force" I mean not only war, but the whole force-policy. Both war and all systems based on coercion are attempts to exploit temporary situations. Both contain new injustices leading to further force.

They do not differ from each other in quality, but only in quantity.

Senseless "Victory" and "Defeat"

Whilst mankind insists upon force, it does not see the way out made ready for it.

Thus the Nazis did not understand that the "defeat" of Germany was senseless; Germany became stronger again, despite the "defeat" she suffered during the last war.

Nor did the democratic Powers understand; the "victory" solved nothing, because after the dictated Treaty of Versailles, all the problems of humanity as a whole—and of its parts, the nations—still awaited solution.

Germany—itself a refutation of that "defeat"—now seeks to impose a useless "defeat" upon other peoples. The "victorious" States, which triumphed in vain, are also again seeking to solve problems by conquest.

Both are like Fabre's wasp.

The policy of force is quite as hopeless and absurd today as it ever was.

Our civilization is a new, industrial one.

The HOW

THE Empire was won by the sword, has been preserved through generations by the sword, and in the last resort can only be safeguarded by the sword."

—Lord Gort, VC, now Commander-in-Chief of the British Expeditionary Force (quoted in October issue of "Empire.")

and the WHY

"We did not conquer India for the benefit of the Indians."

"I know that in missionary meetings it is said that we conquered India to raise the level of the Indians. That is cant."

"We conquered India as an outlet for the goods of Great Britain."

—The late Lord Brentford (reported in "Daily News," October 16, 1925.)

Women's Answer to Sir Samuel Hoare

A letter signed by several women members of the Queens Park (Birmingham) group of the Peace Pledge Union has been sent to Sir Samuel Hoare in answer to his broadcast speech of September 22.

"The blank cheque given to Poland has not saved her," the letter states, "and nothing which may now happen can give back the lives which have been destroyed. Instead of insisting that this must be a fight to a finish we call on the Government to stop the war before it spreads further, and to give all their energies to the calling of a world conference at which every nation can contribute something to the making of a just and lasting peace. Such a peace can never come through the triumph of one nation over another in war."

Advice for C.O.s in Oldham

The Dick Sheppard Centre, 13a Manchester Street, Oldham, is open daily (including Sundays) from 7.30 p.m. to 10 p.m.; also on Saturday afternoons, 2.30 to 5. Mock Tribunals every Monday, 8 p.m. All COs are invited.

Prayer for a BUSINESS

"DEVILISH BUSINESS"

WE hold no brief for the *Daily Mirror*. Some of the things it has printed since the war began have drawn a protest from at least one other national daily newspaper.

But we think that, for plain speaking where it is needed, the following could hardly be bettered:

"I knew it!
"I thumping well knew it!

"We are not at the beginning of a murderous, evil or bloodstained war—but a HOLY war!"

"This information was obtained from the correspondence columns of the twopenny daily, now thoroughly purged of its pro-Nazi sentiments.

"The writer is presumably anxious that the clergy shall impress upon the population the religious sanctity of killing-Germans."

"He desires aggressive prayers because the Church must be militant if it is to be triumphant."

"His advice to the clergy is that they 'will fail in their duty and the Church will miss the mark if those who attend services in church during the war go away saddened and weakened in resolution to carry through the task that lies before them, rather than with the serene confidence of an assurance that they have received that our cause is Holy War, and that those who fight in defence of it are crusaders against the forces of evil.'

"These attempts to gild the whole bestial devilish business of war with a religious smear of authority fill me with disgust."

"Machine gun bullets aren't holy even if they are fired by a regiment of saints."

"And if bombs, tanks and poison gas are going to vie with ecclesiastical relics, then Hitler should be immediately canonised."

It was written by "Cassandra" in the *Daily Mirror* last Thursday.

★

And, while we're on the subject, the following appears in a special prayer to be used throughout the country on Sunday—which is to be observed as a day of national prayer:

"... save and deliver us, we humbly beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies; abate their pride, assuage their malice, and confound their devices; that we, being armed with Thy defence, may be preserved evermore from all perils, to glorify Thee, who art the only Giver of all victories..."

In the *Daily Mail* Charles Graves said that this and other special prayers were "presumably composed by the Archbishop of Canterbury himself."

Comment is superfluous, especially if one recalls that Hitler himself said at Danzig that "God Almighty... has blessed our arms."

War Can Never Bring Lasting Peace, says

Cecil H. WILSON

M.P. for Attercliffe

to be told by "B" that he did not say he could do it the first time.

It was perhaps too much to expect that our new method could succeed the first time; but we can take hope that success must come and be thankful that from the first we were in a movement from which the whole world must ultimately benefit.

This is not time for abandoning the cause but rather for a much more intense training of ourselves—training in keeping calm, in meeting any scorn with patience, in giving help and comfort in the many directions which are certain to open to us, and, when it comes to filling up the National Registration forms, including under "occupation" the work which we are doing for the good of our fellow men.

I believe that we are going to have an opportunity for showing what we are made of, what our convictions mean, and, by our whole attitude, winning others to the cause which even in wartime is so dear to us.

War aims at the defeat of the enemy. Pacifism aims at the winning of our opponents.

Don't Leave Peace to the Soldiers

The main task of all people not engaged in fighting is to think out the peace.

So said Professor Saurat, director of the Institute Français, in London last week.

"The thinking out of the peace must on no account be left to the soldiers," he added. "It is bad for the soldiers and bad for the peace."

U.S. Church Calls Pacifist Conference

An afternoon and evening pacifist conference will be held by the Episcopal Church in New York on Monday week.

An invitation to the conference has been sent to every Rector in the diocese of New York and to others known to be interested. Among its sponsors are the Bishop of Western Massachusetts, the Bishop of Arizona, and the chairman of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Dion Byngham calls for PEACE—FOR LIFE'S SAKE

A NEW RELIGION of Life is, I believe, what the world needs and understand in ourselves and others. what the Peace Movement, especially, needs to give it creative focus and integrative cohesion. We need something more than the negative doctrine of anti-war, necessary as that is. We need something positively pro-peace; the living, affirmative dynamic of an adventurous and splendid peace.

"I came that they might have Life, and have it more abundantly." That, surely, is the greatest and most essential saying attributed to the Master Jesus. Inasmuch as Christianity means that and things relevant to that, we may cull from it the seeds of a new living faith.

Creation, Not Destruction

FROM other age-old creeds and Christian cults of the past we may garner equally timeless truths from this new religion of Life. The eternal vision and values of Life are the same for all ages. Yet we need a new synthesis, a new emergent revelation, adaptable to our present and future conditions.

In this new era of material science and mechanized power, we need the spiritual vision and values which will direct these forces into channels of creation and life instead of into morasses of destruction and death. Faced with these vast potentialities of productive wealth, how shall we make them serve the purposes of life and peace instead of mammon and war?

Only from the marriage of this material abundance with a spirit of sharing and generous grace can the new and nobler future of joy in living and letting live be conceived and robustly born.

New Vision Needed

WE must take hold of the sciences and arts of Life and the economics and mechanics of existence—biology, physiology, nutrition, agriculture, psychology, behaviour, and the rest—and bind them into a new and all-embracing unity of living vision. We must, for instance, learn to reverence every healthy, vital and virile human body as God's image of Life incarnate.

How, then, should we fail to see war as the worst of all evils? War, which destroys the divine gift of life and degrades and shatters the living miracle of the body! War, which herds human beings in millions for mass mutilation and butchery, treating them with more contempt than so many cattle! War, which is the mad sacrificial orgy and nemesis of every body-debasing and flesh-crucifying creed!

We must probe the mind, questioning ruthlessly, and by every means and method known to us in modern psychology, seek to discover and dispel those deep hidden causes of which war-willingness is the fearful effect and symptom. How fear and frustration breed aggression and power-striving; how thwarted and perverted love may turn to hate; how harsh repression may engender either volcanic violence or petrified apathy—all the roots of sadism, masochism and arrested development—these are amongst the many complexes of obscure psychological causality.

The Positive Goal

HOW, in all phases of human growth and behaviour, to substitute for frustration and distortion the happy flowering and integral fulfilment of every living function and faculty, this must be the positive goal of such study. For a fulfilled and integrated individual will be a true man (or woman) of peace, and a community of such individuals would never make war.

Nor could there be, between such homogeneous communities, each rooted in its own integral culture and fertile soil, any cause or provocation for war. Between such integral communities (call them "nations" or what you will) there could be true inter-communication or true "internationalism." Not a mixed, amorphous muddle, but a world-wide mosaic of community patterns and cultures—just as developed and free individuals are vital to the make-up of every social community.

Perhaps "national" or "racial" homogeneity and integration is, in its place, as necessary to real internationalism and inter-racialism as individual integration is to a mature social structure.

We might think over this thought. For example, about the most healthy, finest physique and best tempered people in the world—the people of the Hunza Valley in Northern India—are a product of such soil-

we must strive to penetrate, explore and no means irrelevant to our thinking for life and for peace.

Hopelessly Idealistic

SUCH indications may seem hopelessly idealistic to some of my readers. Yet what are they essentially but attempted integral deductions from the facts and possibilities of things as they really are?

Perhaps the most difficult demand they make is for a more conscious application of sense and intelligence to the recognition of that which is, as the basis of that which might be.

But that open secret of vision, alas, seems so hard to learn. That to which we are most often blind is what is right in front of our nose.

First and last, however, one must suppose that radical revision of our values which can only come from a new religion of Life. And of this new faith the keynote, I believe, must be an all-embracing generosity of spirit. Surely such a spirit of generosity is what in their heart of hearts men hunger to express in life and in action?

So long has this spirit been imprisoned by the impositions of meanness and greed. But its liberation is imperative.

For, as the late D. H. Lawrence once

warned us: "The world is in for either a great wave of generosity or a great wave of the death."

Let, therefore, this spirit of generosity and of Peace for Life's sake be the gist of rooted, homogeneous culture and breeding, our witness to the world. Peace and Life I just refer to this in passing, as it is, by be to All.

The Editor's Point of View

Stop the War—and End Hitlerism

THE war budget opened by Sir John Simon on Wednesday will undoubtedly increase the already growing opposition to the war. Yet that opposition is not merely based on the comparatively selfish ground of the hardships which war brings to people.

Now, it entirely deserves the other hand, to be based on the moral convictions as to the actual purpose of that war.

It is entirely due to the other hand,

to the moral convictions as to the actual

purpose of that war.

As much as anything, it is the futility of war that is being impressed upon people.

Such a practical point, for example, as the invasion of Poland by the Soviet Union is inevitably making people ask what point there is in fighting Germany to restore to Poland what is mainly held by Russia. To

ask if we are now to fight Russia is to make the negative answer obvious—except,

indeed, for such hopelessly consistent

journals as *The Times*, which has been

taken to task by such staunch friends of

Poland as the *News Chronicle*, which is at

pains to have us know that its contemporary does not speak the mind of the Government.

But when Signor Mussolini pointed out, in a speech in Rome on Saturday, that a refusal to fight Russia compromised our Government's moral justification for fighting Germany, the authoritative—and lofty

British comment was: "The suggestion... is not understood here," because "the invasion of Poland was itself but a further illustration of the lawlessness in international affairs which it is the principal

purpose of this country to resist."

In order to be more precise, the Prime Minister's words in Parliament on September 20, were quoted:

"Our general purpose in this struggle is well known; it is to redeem Europe from the perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression and enable the peoples of Europe to preserve their independence and their liberties."

*

ONE would have thought that bitter experience alone would have caused the peoples of this country and all other countries concerned to reply unhesitatingly and with united voice to that statement, "Then for heaven's sake stop the war!"

We all know that not only the identical object, but almost the identical words were paraded in justification of the last "war to end war." And at the end of it this is what the London *Evening News* said (on November 11, 1918):

"However long the journey between the armistice celebrations and those of the real peace, 'the world has been made safe for democracy' by the terms and events which put a fresh German outbreak out of possibility."

"For all the evil that has been wrought we seek not vengeance but justice."

And we not only know, but are still seeing the results of that attempt to end evil by means of another evil.

The World's Need

If that is a merely negative argument against the continuance of the war, it is none the less a perfectly sound one, and no apology need be made for it.

No-one apologizes for refusing to meet the dire need of a man dying of thirst by giving him prussic acid because it seems to be the only thing one has to give him.

The world is in dire need. It is no way to meet that need to give it the poison of war even though one fails to see anything else to give it.

But there is something else to give. Only

Dick Sheppard on CHRISTIANS AND WAR

THE art of killing is the essence of war, and no Christian can uphold war unless he is prepared to kill his brother. If a man believes in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man war is murder and all war is civil war. The core of Christian pacifism is the belief that it is never right to take human life. It has nothing to do with quietism in the sense of immoral apathy or cowardice. Its basis is not utilitarian. It does not condemn all use of force. It is a constructive philosophy of life. It does not make an unconditional surrender to evil. It attacks it with something much more effective than violence, namely the constructive power of non-violent resistance.

For us the obligation to renounce all participation in modern warfare has a constraining power which we believe to be of God. We believe that God is always and everywhere the Father—All-mighty because All-loving. We believe that the way of the Cross, the way which denies that violence and the power to kill are the final arbiters in human affairs, and that the way of suffering love—not sought but if necessary embraced—is the only means for the redemption of the world.

We believe that modern warfare, under whatever label it is conducted, for which the only method of defence is the wholesale and indiscriminate slaughter of humanity is not only out of date but totally and finally irreconcilable with the spirit and teaching of Jesus Christ; and that there can be no hope of Christianity prevailing or Justice being established between the nations under the League of Nations or any other system whose ultimate sanction is violence. It makes very little difference if a bomb is labelled "With love from Geneva" or "Go to blazes" from this or that dictator.

To us pacifism is a fundamental article of our creed and the crucial issue before the Christian Church today. And to me a Church that cannot perceive that all war must be anathema to Christ is apostate.

Turn to Christ's teaching. We may twist His sayings with all the perversity of ecclesiastical casuistry but we shall have a very poor case when we try to make Him bless war. The nearer we get to Calvary the more obvious, surely, that truth becomes.

The Christian Church will never be destroyed by opposition, but it will indeed be in danger when its moral judgments provoke the indignation of enlightened men and compel them to believe that nothing induces us to take our Lord seriously.

—From a sermon by Dick Sheppard at St. Mary Woolnoth Church, London, in 1937.

it's on the top shelf and very difficult to reach.

It is difficult for us now to employ the alternative to war, partly because Herr Hitler has, in fact, broken his word to suit his need to gain advantages, but perhaps mainly because of our own share in first putting him in a position to need to gain advantages.

THERE is enough for all peoples, not only of "living room," but of things to live on, without having to live on each other.

If the last war was to be the end of war, it should have been followed by the realization of that fact and by action based on it. Instead, the old system of each country for itself was allowed to continue. And the evil of that system was aggravated by the fact that it operated particularly against the very people whose aggressiveness the war had been fought to end.

The obvious result was that they sought by every means left open to them to redress the balance. And they found by experience, by our unresponsiveness to democratic pleadings and our non-resistance to force; that force was, in fact, the most successful means.

Our Answer to Hitler

Is our answer to be merely to give another turn to this vicious circle, by continuing the war? Or shall we now do what must be done some day—break the vicious circle by attempting, despite the difficulties, to work out with all the peoples concerned a way of sharing the organization of the world's life so that no one people needs to obtain advantages over another in order to be sure of possessing the means of life?

That alone can end "Hitlerism," if by "Hitlerism" we mean "the perpetual and recurring fear of German aggression." That is the end of Hitlerism.

To stop fighting and negotiate that kind of peace is therefore the only way to attain the object for which so many are still prepared to go on fighting!

Humphrey S. Moore

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(Edited by Max Plowman)

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REPLY TO CHURCHMEN WHO BACK THE WAR

"Do Not Represent All Christians"

NOT ALL THE BLAME ON HITLER

A STATEMENT issued by a number of Church dignitaries, justifying Great Britain's declaration of war on Germany, has been answered in a statement by the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

The original statement was signed by the Archbishop of the Canterbury, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and the Moderator of the Federal Council of Evangelical Free Churches, and an extract from it was quoted in last week's *Peace News*.

The Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, in a statement signed by Canon Charles E. Raven, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and the Rev. Henry Carter (a Methodist Minister), declares:

"These official leaders do not in this council table. It may be that statesmen matter represent the whole membership of the Christian Churches. There are considerable numbers in every one of the Churches who will feel that their thoughts and feelings are by no means reflected in some of the principal portions of the message . . .

Responsibility for War

"The opening paragraph, while expressing bitter disappointment that war has come upon us, puts the whole of the blame for it on one man: 'On him alone lies the dreadful responsibility of having inflicted this crime upon humanity.' This simplification is misleading, if only because it is never possible to separate the immediate from the more remote causes of war.

"And we cannot but be reminded of the clause in the Treaty of Versailles imputing to Germany the sole guilt for the war of 1914-18. During the last twenty years Christian opinion has increasingly recognized that clause to be unjust and itself one of the factors in creating the new antagonism."

Referring to the Church leaders' warning against self-righteousness, the statement adds: "It would be more seemly, more in accord with the facts, if we began with penitence for our own share as a nation in the policies leading Germany to feel that she must re-arm to secure justice for herself. As Churches also we share in the failure to renounce imperialism and pride of race, to remedy admitted evils, and to initiate a programme of generous and radical reform."

A Better Way

"The call to meet force with counter-force must indeed be hateful to any Christian man. But the Christian faith as we see it declares that there is another way of meeting evil. The message of the New Testament is that evil can only be overcome by good.

"The Christian Church exists to proclaim and embody this other and better way. It is the way of the Cross. With the example of Christ before them, Christians are called to confront evil in its most obdurate forms with readiness to suffer rather than sin by inflicting on others the suffering that war inevitably means. . . .

"The practical alternative to war is the

Example for the Youngsters

To the Editor, "Peace News."

Dear Sir—This issue of "Peace News" (September 22), has so impressed a very vital old great grandmother of 91 that she has ordered four dozen copies and has made a list of useful people to whom they are to be sent.

Confined to bed at the moment, she says it "is all, alas, I can do for peace."

Yours,

M. M.

That "Fight to a Finish" Spirit Again

"For us and for the French this is a war to end Hitlerism, to destroy the régime of violence and chicanery which is making life intolerable for us and the other nations of Europe.

"We fight until that purpose is reached. The fall of Warsaw, if it comes, will no more save Hitler from defeat than the fall of Moscow saved Napoleon."

—*Daily Express*, September 7.

Women at Home and Abroad

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, founded in The Hague in 1915, in the first year of the last war, is functioning today in many countries and will continue its work during the war.

It believes that work internationally for the renunciation of war is a piece of international service which must be maintained in this critical hour.

The British section urges the governments, when peace comes, to conclude it by negotiation between all parties concerned on equal terms; and to avoid vindictiveness and recrimination. And, as an immediate step, to set up an Official Committee (including representatives of unofficial bodies which have been working for an organised peace) to study the root causes of war and the means by which they can be eradicated, and to consider and make recommendations of such terms of peace as would eliminate war.

Badges for Peace

THE Hall Green (Birmingham) group of the Peace Pledge Union is taking an active part in the campaign "to stop the war" by ordering supplies of two badges, the wording of which appears below.



The badges will be similar to the PPU badge but it will sell at 3d. each (plus postage), or if sufficient orders are forthcoming, at 2d. each. The badges will be on sale on October 2 and orders should be sent to Mr. Kenneth Thomason, 160 Reddings Lane, Birmingham 11.

Plans for Pacifist Service Outside the War Machine

STUART MORRIS, chairman of the Peace Pledge Union, and Richard Ward have had an interview with Mr. Ernest Brown, Minister of Labour, concerning the Pacifist Service Bureau.

[As reported last week, the National Council of the PPU decided that there should be no question of the Bureau—formerly the Pacifist Service Corps—being at the disposal of the Government.]

Mr. Brown was told that there were a large number of pacifists who were anxious to render service to the community, though the community was at war, provided such service could be rendered completely apart from the military machine.

It was emphasized that there was no question of the PPU organizing a corps to be at the disposal of the Government, or of asking for any arrangement for the recognition of alternative service which might place some conscientious objectors in a position of advantage in the eyes of Tribunals.

The Minister said that he quite understood the position and realized its difficulties. He added that he was glad of the information, and that he had thousands of applicants on his own list of those who desired to render special service, with whom he was not yet able to deal.

P.P.U. Goes Ahead

The PPU is, therefore, going ahead with the tasks.

- (a) Of putting applicants in touch with opportunities of service which already exist;
- (b) Of organizing its own schemes, which will chiefly be concerned with the relief of pacifists who are in need.

The work will mainly fall into two sections:

- 1. Such as members acting as an independent unit will be able to perform; and
- 2. Such as, for the sake of efficiency, can only be performed in conjunction with the local authority.

Meanwhile the Bureau will be glad if any group or person who becomes aware of a need for service in a particular locality, or undertakes some form of service there, will send particulars to PPU headquarters, in order that headquarters may help if possible and that suggestions may be passed on to others. This will help to co-ordinate the activities of the Pacifist Service Bureau.

Groups and individuals registered under the PSB will be informed of developments as often as funds and the paper shortage permit.

Peace Council to M.P.s:

"Don't Turn Down Chance of Peace"

MEMBERS of Parliament have received a letter from the executive committee of the National Peace Council, urging that in the event of a "peace initiative" from the German Chancellor, the British Government should not limit itself to a "merely negative reply."

Instead, says the letter, the Government "should utilize the opportunity so provided to make, in conjunction with the French Government, a full and constructive statement of the views of the two governments in regard to the structure of a desirable peace, and of the contributions which the two countries are prepared to make towards its realization."

"Radical" Peace

The letter urges that the undertakings given in any such Anglo-French declaration of policy "must be radical in character, precise in their formulation and must be proclaimed imaginatively and with all the resources of publicity that are available."

The Council finally recommends that the undertakings should be addressed to the following "four main objectives":

- (a) The promotion of the economic well-being of all the peoples of Europe through the free exchange of goods and services and a concerted attempt in this and other ways to improve standards of living.
- (b) The development of a new colonial system which, while protecting native interests, would ensure to all nations a share in administrative responsibility and equality of access to raw materials and opportunities for trade.

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News of the Peace Pledge Union

Good News About "Peace News"

In order to make *Peace News* a "best-seller," why not follow the example of members of the Ilford group? They organized a mass selling of the paper last Saturday and in two hours they sold seven dozen copies.

This is being done all over the country and sales are "zooming." Efforts are being made to consolidate and expand this increased circulation, but in order to do this we must have funds. You can help in this direction, too, by sending a contribution to our *Peace News Fund*. This week's contributions total over £30—a splendid effort!

Last week we acknowledged 10s. to Mr. Edwards. The name should have been "D.L.R." We are pleased to acknowledge this week's contributions as follows:

	£ s. d.
Previously acknowledged	159 18 11½
Mr. Harland	7 0
G. S. Pratt	2 6
F. Hill	2 6
K. L. C. Dodd	2 0
H. R. King	5 0
Mr. Gardener	2 6
"From Windermere."	5 0
H. Simpson	2 0
Mr. Schofield	2 6
B. Vine	7 3
F. L. Bardsley	2 0 0
R. Sainsbury	1 0 0
P. H. Stirzaker	2 6
F. J. Taylor	3 0
Mr. Clayton	5 0
C. J. Street	10 0
D. S. W.	5 0
Anon	5 0
Medical Psychologist	1 0 0
W. G.	2 0
W. Lowe	5 0
F. W. Piper	1 0
E. W. Nurse	2 6
W. H. Waddington	10 0
F. Beach	5 0
Mrs. Westall	1 0
O. M. Capron	3 0
"An Onlooker."	5 0
Vera Bingham	0 0
E. Hope	5 0
Oswestry Group	2 2 0
A. L. Lay	2 6
S. and L. Lay	2 6
Catchpole	2 0 0
E. M. Ure	10 0
Mrs. Lloyd Jones	1 1 0
M. and C. Abley	1 0
Mr. Schofield	5 0
P. Chart	1 0 0
L. Rose	1 0
P. H. Hemming	10 0
J. Stimp	3 3
E. Sutton	3 0
A. M. B.	5 0
Proud of P.P.U.	1 0 0
A. J. W.	5 0
D. Nesbett	1 9 0
R. Fry and Lady Gibb	3 3 0
S. B. Wolfe	10 0
Thanks Frank	4 0
C. M. B.	2 0
Lobell	5 0
D. L. Bing	10 0
	<hr/> £189 19 51

The *Peace News* Fund was launched to help to release for some other branch of the Peace Pledge Union's work the subsidy at present paid to *Peace News*. (This amounts to £750 for the current year).

Donations of any size will be welcomed and acknowledged in *Peace News*. Cheques and postal orders should be made payable to *Peace News*, Ltd.—and not the Peace Pledge Union—and should be addressed to 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Pacifist Councillor Refuses War Work

A refusal to undertake war work was expressed last week by Councillor J. C. Dempsey, a member of Rothwell Urban Council.

Mr. Dempsey, who is a member of the Peace Pledge Union group in Kettering, announced that, although he was willing to take part in ordinary council business and to carry on with Public Assistance work, he could not serve on the Fuel Advisory Committee.

The chairman of the Council declared that they all "hated" war work.

Mr. Dempsey said: "I do not doubt your sincerity or your belief that you are going through this in the right way, but war will never put the world right. The only way is for men to refuse to fight. I must stand for what I believe."

FRIENDLY

Scene.—A country station during the blackout. Voice from the engine driver of a train which has just come in: "Don't know what they want to have it pitch black like this for; after all it's only a friendly war!"

(Sent by Winifred Blyth.)

JOHN BARCLAY SAYS: Let Us Be Original!

I HAVE heard this war called a number of names, some quite unprintable, but the one that seems to me to fit it best is "The Un-original War." Since it began we have had nothing but ghastly reminders of 1914-18, the same lies about poisoned sweets, the same stories of U-boat commanders laughing while seamen drown, the same stories of huge enemy losses and no mention of our own, the same monopoly of God: nothing original—not even a new song, only the dreary old "Parlez-Vous?" It is a most unoriginal war.

One thing strikes me as different; the spirit after the third week is very like the spirit of 1918 after War had been running for three years. Tragic, hopeless bewilderment and a longing for the war to end. I am pleading, therefore, for a spice of originality now. Let us reverse the proceedings before it is too late and have the peace treaty first, before the real slaughter begins. Unless we do so, the progress of this war will be along the same lines as the last and end in the loss of all we stand for, Freedom, Liberty and Truth; besides the incalculable loss of life and health.

Already there is manifest a desire for a negotiated peace. It is up to us as pacifists to turn the desire into a demand. Those of us who were in the shambles last time know that Hindenburg lines or Seigfried lines are but the grave-yards of hopes and ideals—that no-one really believes it possible to build peace out of

It is madness to refuse to be sane. Whatever the difficulties or consequences may be, nothing justifies the deliberate insanity of carrying on when once this truth has been accepted.

I have had some experience lately of speaking at public meetings during wartime, and I would urge you all to get out into the open as soon and as often as you can. Stand up and say out loud what practically everyone is saying to themselves—"end the war now before it is too late."

Do not under-estimate the intelligence of the public, for you will find a keenly thoughtful audience. You can be quite undaunted and firm on this point, the war must be stopped and only the people can stop it.

New members are coming in well, and every day new groups are being formed and old ones split up into active teams. *Peace News* could easily become a best seller, so take it out on the streets next week and let me know how you get on. Talk peace, sell peace, and make the movement known in every way you can at all times; such is the work of the active pacifist in wartime.

Don't stick to old methods, be original!

They Know Not What They Do

"FATHER, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Too often it appears that the afflictors of mankind know only too well what they are doing.

They know, yet they know not. It is said that "uncivilized" men consider it cowardly to use a long-distance weapon, a gun that gives the enemy no chance, that allows one to kill without even being seen. They are right.

A decent man, so long as he stifles imagination, can kill from a distance with far less fear of compunction, human feeling, faltering, than if he saw his victim face to face. He might hesitate to drive a bayonet into a man, woman or child, but he is less likely to hesitate about dropping a bomb which will cause more suffering.

That hand-to-hand fighting is possible is also largely due to the stifling of imagination. Having eyes, the fighter sees not. From the aeroplane the bomber sees not the homes he is destroying, the co-religionists praying to the God to whom he will offer thanks for a safe return, the fellow-men whose virtues and sins are like his own, whom he has killed or maimed.

The soldier in the trenches has little more vision; he sees a man, an enemy, but he does not see, he dare not see for long, a father, a husband, a fellow-worshipper.

"Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

Nor do they know, they who from a longer distance still cause suffering to those they never see. The men who make munitions, the men who plan blockades, the men and women who stir up hatred, who care not whether justice is done in their own empire, their own country, their own town, who have not heard the whimpering of babies in the slums, who have not felt the boredom of the unemployed, who have not shared the weariness of the over-burdened mother. Lord, open thou the eyes of all who have not known their brothers; that, knowing, they may cease their oppression.

Winifred M. White

HISLAM SENTENCE PROTEST

A protest against "the excessive sentence passed on Mr. Lawrence Hislam for his anti-war protest in Downing Street" was made in a resolution adopted unanimously by the Hampstead branch of the No Conscription League last Thursday.

Advisory Bureaux in the North

TEN more advisory bureaux for conscientious objectors have been opened in Northumberland, Durham, and North Yorkshire, in addition to that at Newcastle-on-Tyne, which has already appeared in *Peace News*.

The full list for this area is now as follows (telephone numbers are given in brackets):

ASHINGTON. Rev. Percy S. Carden, The Manse, High Market, Ashington (Ashington 210).

DURHAM. Miss Muriel Poulter, The High School, Durham.

GATESHEAD. R. O. Wylde, 32 Elmwood Gardens, Ravensworth, Gateshead, 11.

MIDDLESBROUGH. C. W. Chester, 6 Church Lane, Acklam, Middlesbrough (Linthorpe 8553).

NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE AND DISTRICT. Thomas W. Large, 13 Mundella Terrace, Newcastle, 6 (Newcastle 56353).

NORTH SHIELDS. John C. Gillie, 25 Otterburn Road, North Shields (North Shields 8551).

SOUTH SHIELDS. R. E. Wraith, 13½ Laygate, South Shields (South Shields 1507).

SUNDERLAND. Walter Sumnerbell, 8 Seaburn Close, and 10 Green Street, Sunderland (Sunderland 3809). This replaces the address of William Dixon, published previously.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES. Leonard Williams, 16 Clifton Avenue, Stockton-on-Tees.

WEST HARTLEPOOL. Harold E. Deacon, Gorsets, 20 Oakland Avenue, West Hartlepool.

WHITLEY BAY. T. Noel Kilby, Blenford, 20 Reilton Terrace, Monkseaton.

Nottingham

Inquiries regarding the Nottingham Advisory Bureau should be sent to Mr. Donald Pickering, 9 Fisher Avenue, Woodthorpe, Nottingham, and not to No. 8, as printed in our last complete list.

New Home for P.P.U. Basque Children

THE house so kindly offered us for the children left at Basque House was taken for evacuated English children before we could occupy it. The task of finding another in the few days before the closing of this house seemed too precarious, we saw no remedy but to send the children, with two members of our staff, to another colony; one which has been well recommended.

Our having been able to send them depends on our retaining the promises we received in answer to our recent appeal. We warmly thank those who expressed willingness to help, and hope that they will remember that, although they are in another house, the children need their aid as much as ever.

We hope to let you have news of them from time to time. Gifts of all kinds may now be sent to "Leonard Read, Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex." He will forward them.

THEO WILLS.

What Groups are Doing

THE Northern Ireland Region now issues a monthly news-sheet, and has circulated an autumn programme of meetings.

There are three groups in Belfast, and one each in Londonderry, Bangor, and Larne. In spite of transport difficulties attendances have greatly increased, and it is hoped to form further groups, especially in Belfast. A monthly meeting is being arranged in the centre of Belfast, particularly for new signatories.

Several open-air meetings have been held at the Custom House on Sunday evenings, permission being obtained from the police after an initial misunderstanding. *Peace News* selling continues in Belfast without any serious incidents.

Just before the outbreak of hostilities the Derry leader and Regional Representative made personal appeals to members of the Eire Government in favour of an offer of mediation from them.

Belfast members have been greatly encouraged by visits from cross-channel signatories, and they hope that others will call at 56 Ulster Avenue, where there is a meeting every Wednesday evening.

New Group in Dunoon

A NEW group has been formed at Dunoon, the capital of the Cowal district of Argyll.

This is the first group to have appeared in this part of Scotland, and in view of the conservative nature of the district will prove a source of inspiration.

Tramp Preachers Beat Apathy at Kettering

THE Kettering group recently had a visit from the tramp preacher, Mr. Alf Opie, and his party, and several meetings were held. All these meetings roused considerable interest in a district that is well known for its apathy in such matters.

So far the group has got six new signatories as a result and there are more to follow. They also sold six dozen of *Peace News* and distributed a good deal of literature, none of which appeared to be thrown away.

Advice in Bournemouth

A MEMBER of the P.P.U. is present at the Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road, Bournemouth, from 5 to 6.30 p.m. daily for advice or a friendly chat.

Broadstairs Discusses Pacifist Service

THE Broadstairs Group recently discussed the question of rendering service in war-time. It was felt that something should be done to relieve suffering, but if possible apart from the Government.

The next fortnightly meeting will be held on October 3 at 6.30 p.m. at 18 Queen's Road.

Dover Meets Propaganda Barrier

THE local billposting company has politely "discouraged" the Dover group from hiring poster sites.

The group is, however, making progress, four new members having been welcomed.

It meets fortnightly, on Wednesdays at "Wynnyatts," The Drove, Whitley.

Progress in Ramsgate

RAMSGATE group has grown considerably, and all members are keen and energetic. It meets on the second and fourth Mondays of every month at 41 Ellingham Street and 63 High Street respectively.

Eastbourne Meetings

MEETINGS of the Eastbourne group are held in the Friends' Meeting House, Wish Road, Eastbourne, every Sunday at 2.30 p.m. All pacifists are welcome and a special invitation is extended to any interested evacuees in Eastbourne and district.

Blind Readers Wanted

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

We have space for only a few of the letters we receive.
Other things being equal, letters of about 200 words stand the best chance of publication.

A Lead for Peace Now

ALTHOUGH, as Lord Ponsonby pointed out in last week's *Peace News*, our legislators have failed the people, in their almost unanimous support of war—there has never before been such a mass of organized pacifist opinion, and people are expecting a strong lead from this source.

The cause of peace before this war was a plea for sanity; but now the most appalling outrage has been committed, actually by our Government. Truth has been completely distorted. Reading the Government's White Paper, one is filled with horror at the obvious struggle of the Germans to avoid war and the equal determination of Sir Nevile Henderson on behalf of our Government to force a point which must necessarily mean war.

Millions of people groan in spirit because their voices cannot be heard. In addition to all pacifist organizations, all the mothers in England want the immediate cessation of hostilities and a peace of reconciliation and justice. The Women's Co-operative Guild stands for this, and also the great majority of the boys in the Army, Navy and Air Force, who, whatever the newspapers may say to the contrary, prefer life to death.

We must have a lead in England from men of good will.

C. E. PAYNE.

117 Berkeley Court, W.1.

In the interests of humanity, is it better to carry on this war or to stop it, by whatever means, and take the chance, however small, of future peace?

Today we are at war. If we stop the war today, we shall have peace tomorrow.

"THE CHURCH" AND WAR

As a Christian Pacifist and a member of the Peace Pledge Union, may I draw attention to what has seemed to me a regrettable confusion in pacifist circles. We are often told that the Church says this or that as though the Church was a single and united entity. It is easy to generalize, but generalizations are usually both false and unfair. Many of us believe that on the question of war the heads of the different denominations are guilty of a shameless betrayal of Christianity: but to saddle the rank and file of the Christian Church with such arrant paganism as is preached, for instance, by the Archbishops is to do them grave injustice.

Those—and they are more numerous than is often supposed—who place Christ before the State, Humanity before Britain, repudiate such leadership and deplore the fact that they are so frequently associated in this matter with their nominal leaders under the one title, The Church. One has only to mention such names as Stuart Morris, Dr. Barnes, Canon Raven, Leyton Richards, George Lansbury, Profs. Dodd and Magregor, to see that the finest Christian opinion is uncompromisingly pacifist. Moreover, as a theological student I can say that in the colleges known to me, the students, and therefore the future representatives of the Church, are pacifists almost to a man.

May I ask those of our persuasion who do not base their position on specifically Christian principles, to remember that a few prominent men do not constitute the Church of Christ: will they also remember that there are thousands of Christians in lesser positions who are working for a Church nearer to the spirit and the teaching of her Lord.

R. E. CROOKALL.
The Manse, Huyton, Liverpool.

During the last 12 months the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has about doubled its membership, but, if we are to show clearly that the Church of England is not entirely committed to the war method the membership of its pacifist Fellowship ought to be enlarged.

The position of the conscientious objectors who are Anglicans and have to face tribunals is peculiarly difficult owing to the fact that they may be accused of not only failing to co-operate with their nation, but of an act of disloyalty to their Church. We know that the Archbishops have made it clear that they feel that pacifists have the right to be members of the Church of England, but that fact has not yet been fully recognized. If, therefore, our Fellowship could number at least 5,000 members and in its membership there could be 500 priests, we would then become a body which really counted—if

Even if, the day after, war comes again, delay has lost nothing. If war does not come, delay has gained everything.

The alternatives before us are to sacrifice prestige and self-righteousness or to sacrifice humanity.

Surely Christianity, if we are still a Christian nation, has no choice but to take this chance.

Have our Government, or failing them our people, sufficient faith to do so?

WILLIAM DOUGLAS HORE.
35 South Eaton Place, S.W.1.

Is the time not opportune for the Peace Pledge Union and all other peace societies to join forces? There must be a number, like the Church of Scotland Peace Society, which could be approached with a view to getting the maximum number of peace lovers in the country united in these days of trouble.

This is not to suggest any form of amalgamation but to ensure that the people of this country and our Government realize the strength of our combined movements and also give an indication of the number of citizens desirous of having hostilities stopped NOW. This may even lead to mass demonstration against the Government's policy of a much greater number than the PPU alone could hope to muster.

W. M. WALLACE.
Ravelley, Fidias Road,
Llanishen, Cardiff.

Many of us are wondering whether, at the last moment, the world can be saved from devastating war. We have not been able to save Poland. That effort was hopeless from the beginning, but it should have proved that might cannot be defeated by might.

Are we now going to drag our country, and our people, down to the level of those we condemn as aggressors? Or is it possible by a superb gesture of statesmanship or a wide

but slenderly—in the mind of the public. May we therefore appeal to all Anglican pacifists who have not already done so to become members of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, even though they do not feel in a position to pay any subscription whatsoever? It has been our policy since the beginning to leave each member free to assess himself or herself, and in that way we hope finally to bring into the Fellowship all communicant members of the Church of England who have decided to take no part in war but to work for the building up of Christian peace in the world.

C. PAUL GLIDDON,
Hon. Organizing Secretary,
Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, Holy Cross
Vicarage, 47 Argyle Square, W.C.1.

The Humanitarian Absolutist

May I beg your correspondents (*Peace News*, September 22) not to use the word "humanitarian" as a distinction from "absolutist."

Had Socrates or Christ reasoned that they could best serve humanity by continuing to spread enlightenment and good deeds rather than by suffering martyrdom and rotting underground—then Socrates would not have been the Socrates, nor Christ the Christ.

Similarly, if Peter, Paul, and thousands more had reasoned likewise then Christ's influence would have perished centuries ago. Christ called for martyrs. Pacifism needs martyrs.

But all men are not built for martyrdom. The martyr needs that light of self-discipline which appears to most as just stupid awkwardness. Christ hauled before a Tribunal answered nothing but—"Sez you." (Thou hast said). He acknowledged no authority from without. Alas, very few who call him Master ever try to continue His stand.

Let each do his utmost. Let us all remember that Socrates left the young men he had "persecuted" to suffer for their "perversion," that Christ besides leaving his disciples to suffer, left the hungry unfed and the sick to die, because he knew how to save them in a far greater sense.

In that greater sense all "absolutists" are more humanitarian than the "humanitarians," yet for the absolutist his way may seem as hard for him as Calvary was to Christ.

W. SPARKS.
Hollinwood Road, Disley, Nr. Stockport.

national effort to save our civilization before it is too late?

Those who drive on with the war now will condemn thousands of peace-loving people to a hideous death. Whether we win or lose nothing can alter the fact that there will be terrible destruction on both sides. Of what use will it be to the majority of those who somehow manage to survive to overthrow Nazism (which is bound to destroy itself in time) if the price is so high? And the price will be beyond measure. We have hardly finished paying for the last war. Strikes, famine and disease will be the inheritance we shall leave for those we claim to be fighting for.

Some people are talking of our national honour. They consider we must go on now and smash Hitlerism. This, I think, is the biggest enemy we have to fight—national pride.

PARNELL BRADBURY.
Beverley Court,
17 Second Avenue, Hove.

I feel that Nancy Kirby raised a vital point in her letter in last week's issue, which, in my opinion, has always been a weak link in our chain of pacifist reasoning, and which is now becoming very apparent.

I think her solution, though perfectly feasible and sound, is a case of putting the cart before the horse, as I think that all learning, advice and theories are of little value unless we live them, the finest and most effective way of teaching, is by being, not just telling.

I believe the majority of pacifists believe that this way of living is all wrong, and instead of living on each other, we must start and live for each other, but it is no use denouncing unless we are prepared to renounce.

May I suggest that the task that faces this generation of pacifists is that of implanting the right seed of co-operation and communal living, in the right soil. But we must plant the seed and not just talk about it.

The vicious circle has to be broken. If we do not do it, who will?

WILL MARCHANT.
92 Pine Road, Winton,
Bournemouth.

Pacifism and the Working Class

Your correspondent C. J. Varney asks why in a membership of over 130,000 we have so few of the working class.

In the first place, a working man's mind is perhaps chiefly concerned with fighting for an existence. A man who has to work for that is just a living, with little or no margin, cannot afford to take risks, which even in peace time would endanger his livelihood. Therefore in many cases he has to be ready to compromise in order to safeguard the bread and butter for himself and family.

The hard fact is, that to be a Pacifist, a Christian or a Buddhist in the true sense involves renunciation. Now to renounce some comforts or pleasures on the part of better-off folk is like the Pharisee's gift, out of their abundance; whereas for the working man to renounce his livelihood and see his family cast on the mercy of this hard world is like the widow's mite, all he has. So working men need to be of the stamp of Mahatma Gandhi if they are to join this union and go as far as some members would have them go.

The Buddha laid down rules for the householder who entered the Way which were not so comprehensive as those for the monk, because of the householders' responsibilities, although both were forbidden to kill.

GEORGE W. DOWAL.
34 St. Catherine's Road, Harrogate.

Involvement in War

Re Mr. Culmer's letter and his query "are we pacifists, as we are certainly involved in the war machine?"

When I am accused thus, I try and explain that, since if I had my way, I should not be involved in the war at all, it is surely only fair that those who do involve me in it, should feed me, &c.

I cannot starve to death or commit suicide, for that would be taking human life, and also, as I was told when I had no gas mask, it sometimes takes more courage to live than to die.

FLORA COLLAR.
4 Irby St., Boston, Lincs.

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PERSONAL

EALING PPU have vacancy for married couple or bachelor to share large house with six others.—Write Richards, 7 Florence Terrace, W.5.

HOME OFFERED Pacifists or Friends, reception area, return companionship and minimum (food) cost. Couple or mother and child.—Fudge, 5a, Orchard Street, Frome, Somerset.

LARGE comfortably furnished house, Surrey town (35 minutes London) available for pacifists desiring inexpensive semi-communal home. Children welcome.—Box 207 *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

PRINTING

PACIFIST PRINTER.—Leaflets, handbills, stationery, cards, and other simple matter.—W. J. Bridgen, 232, Sellincourt Road, London, S.W.17.

PRINTING, for all constructive purposes: religious, musical, commercial, etc., by pacifist.—Peek, 32, Greenhill Road, Leicester. Samples Free.

XMAS CARDS. Propaganda, &c., reproduced by new process. No blocks. Any design and colours. Free specimen and estimate on request. Five per cent. profits PPU.—Sedwell, 14 Topsfield Road, London, N.8.

RELIGIOUS

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SITUATIONS

Vacant

WANTED.—Children's Nurse, preferably with some training in modern methods; twin girls 14 months. Small community, pacifist, food reform, farming in Suffolk.—Box 201, *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

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C.O. (19) Clerk-book-keeper requires any position immediately; 4 years in City Office.—T. L. 16, Elm Grove, London, N.W.2.

C.O. (20), unemployed because of objection, urgently requires position as Clerk in Solicitors' Accountants' or Costing Office. Excellent references.—Box 208, *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

C.O. (24) seeks employment. Formerly Cliff Student. Willing to do anything. Manchester district.—Bradbury, 135, Davyhulme Road, Stretford, Manchester.

CHRISTIAN MAN (30). Electrician (Maintenance, Wireman), having pacifist views, working armament factory, requires situation elsewhere. Would do any work with reasonable wage.—G. Moore, 17 St. David's Road, Weymouth.

ENGINEER Improver filter. London district preferred. PPU.—Box 203, *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

PACIFIST (19) NEEDS WORK. London preferred. General office experience, speaks French, German, Scandinavian languages. Very adaptable.—Box 206, *Peace News*, 3, Blackstock Road, N.4.

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LAMB RIBBONS, New Fabric, 22s. 6d. doz., 12s. 6d. half-dozen, 2s. 3d. each; name colours), typewriter, *Peace News*; Good Carbons, 1d. hundred, 2s. 0d. twenty-five. All postage paid. Lamb's, Adelphi Chambers, Preston — Ad. C.O.

WHERE TO STAY

SIMPLE PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION in Cotswold cottage. Pacifist, vegetarian. Station—Nun Delaney, 6 Eastone Road, Charlbury, Oxon.

Dates for Your Diary

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday.

2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organizers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Today (Friday)

LONDON, W.C.1; 8 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; "What is the PPU?"; PPU.

Tomorrow (Saturday)

GODALMING; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House;

discussion meeting; Wilfred Wellock on "Pacifism and the War"; PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1; 5 p.m. Kingsway Hall, Kingsway; meeting for PPU members.

CROYDON; 7 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane; devotion and intercession directed by Rev. Pat Figgis; 7.45 p.m. Fellowship meeting for all Pacifists; PPU and others.

Sunday, October 1

BOURNEMOUTH; 3 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; open meeting; PPU.

POKESDOWN, Bournemouth; 3.15 p.m. Con-

gregational Church; Joseph Jackson on "Brotherhood and Pacifism"; Pokesdown Brotherhood.

Monday, October 2

GUILDFORD; 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Ward Street; A. Attewell on "Pacifism from Within and Without"; PPU.

Tuesday, October 3

LONDON, E.C.4; 12.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; R. H. Ward on "Pacifist Service Bureau".

RUSSIA HAS SPIKED THE GUNS

(Continued from page 1)

every country which took part in it. In other words, the outcome of the conflict would be an extension of the very evil it was being waged to overthrow.

Stop War Immediately

The above simple and indisputable facts demand of the British public a re-consideration of the case for the present war. Let that duty be undertaken before the conflict on the Western front begins in deadly earnest, for thereafter passions and hatreds will arise which may carry every nation engaged in it to depths of bestiality we all dread even to contemplate.

We are all agreed that our problem is to save freedom and democracy. As it is now clear that these will not be saved by an extension of the conflict, it follows that the war should be stopped immediately. Let us all put our lands to that all-important task, for on its success the salvation of Europe depends.

The solution of Europe's problems must be sought on quite new lines, to be fully discussed at a Peace and Reconstruction Conference on which all thinking people should concentrate their attention until a settlement is reached which points the way to a happier and a peaceful Europe.

The theme of this article is contained in a leaflet published by the Peace Pledge Union, entitled *What Are We Fighting For? Russia has Spiked the Guns*. It is obtainable from 6, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, price 6d. per 100, 4s. 6d. per 1,000.

Forecast

Propaganda Minister Goebbels, in an article in the *Völkischer Beobachter* in November, 1925, entitled "An Open Letter to a Communist": "You and I, we are fighting one another without really being enemies . . . Perhaps the most dire necessity may bring us together."—Nofrontier News Service.

PEACE NEWS

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THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example. Give your pledge on a postcard:

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

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No. 172 29.9.39

Plan for Peace Plebiscite Soon

Congression News

"Reserved Men" Must Also Register

IN the House of Commons on September 21, Mr. Oliver asked the Minister of Labour what procedure should be adopted by persons following reserved occupations in the case of notices to register being served upon them under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939?

Mr. E. Brown: All men liable to be called up for service under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939, will be required to register whether or no they are in a reserved occupation.

Mr. Oliver asked the Minister of Labour whether men engaged in reserved occupations, over the age specified in the Schedule and under 41 years of age, are by reason of their occupation exempted from the operation of the National Service (Armed Forces) Act, 1939?

Mr. E. Brown: No, Sir. Men in reserved occupations are not exempted from liability to be called up under the National Service (Armed Forces) Act. The object of the Schedule is to indicate those whom it is not proposed to call up.

Questions from Mr. Greenwood

ON the Second Reading of the Military Training Bill I had to perform a very difficult task, to eat words which I had previously uttered. I had spoken from this Box against compulsory service. I came to the House, with the approval of my party, to support general compulsory service, not an easy task, but I said then.

If we are going to these lengths in these early days, what about all the other problems which are likely to arise, problems of industrial control, problems of labour conditions, problems of profiteering and problems of prices? I repeated that statement last week, and no steps have yet been announced.

I believe that this view is not confined to this side of the House. It is shared by people in all quarters of the House.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer quietly gets a £500,000,000 war credit. Do we know when we are to have an emergency Budget? Not up till now. But he is not going to be allowed to skulk behind his £500,000,000 war credit, for this reason.

The House and the country are entitled to know before this war drags on much longer what are the proposals of the Government for dealing with taxation and profiteering.

No legislative Measures have been taken yet to deal with profiteering. There is no Member of the House who has not in his possession examples of profiteering on a large and small scale. Whether large or small, the crime is just as bad, except that large-scale profiteering is profiteering at the expense of the State.

We are entitled to know when the Government propose to bring forward proposals for dealing with this problem.

Scottish Nationalists Will Resist Conscription

Scottish Nationalists are opposing conscription. A statement issued by the Scottish Nationalist Organizations declares that:

"We shall demand total exemption. We shall continue at our normal work or at such other work as is fundamentally civilian. We shall not accept any duty which would place us under the control of Westminster's military or semi-military organizations and under no conditions shall we agree to leave Scotland."

"Peace Bell" Now Rung in W. Indies Cathedral

The suggestion of the Bishop of Southwell that a "Peace Bell" should be rung in every church some time during the day, has been adopted in the Cathedral of St. George, in Kingstown, British West Indies.

It was suggested that when the bell is rung the thoughts of all true peace-lovers should turn for a moment to God, with perhaps a mental prayer for peace.

We Didn't Say It

"Even our remote cousins, the anthropoid apes, in their life in the jungle, give us the first glimmering of the collective or national spirit. In the behaviour of the male gorilla we can trace the dawn of patriotism."

From an article in the *Sunday Times*, August 27, "The Nature of Nationalism" by Sir Arthur Keith.

THE United Christian Petition Movement is about to launch a mass canvass in as many towns and cities as possible "to take a plebiscite from the people."

"Only by such means can we effectively make the peaceful will of the people articulate," said Mr. Robert S. Scrutton, the president, to *Peace News*.

"The object of this peace crusade is to inform the Government that the people not only desire peace, but also that the British Government shall lead the world with proposals for a peace conference to remove the economic causes of war by establishing economic justice between the nations. There will be no peace until the resources of the world are made available to all in accordance with the physical and human needs of the people.

"Human need and Christian principles must be made the criterion of all international reforms. Until this is done, human life will continue to be sacrificed to economic expediency and imperialism.

"We are told that our Government is in honour bound to keep its pledge to Poland, but we must tell the Government in no unmistakable terms that the pledge to its own people must be made good."

From an observation post on the Swiss Alsace frontier yesterday French and German soldiers were seen fishing from opposite banks of the Rhine.

No shots were fired from either side.

—Sunday Express.

Make Sure of Your "Peace News"

THE impending rationing of paper is causing newsagents to eliminate waste in the form of unsold papers. They are therefore ordering from publishers only the number of copies actually ordered by readers.

To make sure you get *Peace News*, therefore, you must place an order with your newsagent. Do it NOW! Fill in the form in column 1.

On the other hand, street sales and other sales by groups and individual supporters are continuing. In fact, more sellers are reporting record sales in record times.

So please keep it up! And send your orders (and settle accounts, please!) EARLY, especially as posts are now being delayed. (For the same reason, please bear with us if your copies do not arrive as promptly as they should.)

In order that we too may reduce expense due to unsold copies to an absolute minimum, please either make extra efforts to sell all you order (if you can't afford to pay us for all you order), or try to gauge your requirements more accurately.

One other point arises out of difficulties presented by the war.

Many readers make an excellent practice of disposing of current and back numbers of *Peace News* by delivering or posting copies (with or without appropriate messages enclosed) to friends and others who might be interested. Keep that up too!

But it is now forbidden to send printed matter, except under permit, to countries in Europe, Japan, China, U.S.S.R., Thailand (Siam), and dependencies thereof. It can, however, be sent from this office.

ARRESTED FOR DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS

Questions in Commons

THE following is an extract from Hansard of proceedings in Parliament on Wednesday of last week:

Mr. Gallacher asked the Lord Advocate if he is aware that William Kane and L. Livingston were arrested while handing out leaflets near Howden's engineering shop, Glasgow, taken to the police station and informed that they would be charged under the Defence of the Realm Act; that one of the officers, after an examination of the Act, suggested to another that the Section dealing with Liable to mislead and disrupt might be used; that they were searched and all their personal property taken; that they were then kept in a cell for four hours after which they were liberated with a warning that they must not distribute any more leaflets till the present charge was dealt with; that Livingston's membership card of the Young Communist League was retained; and can he say in what way people will be protected against such arbitrary treatment?

Mr. Colville: I am aware that William Kane and D. Livingston were arrested on suspicion of a contravention of the Defence Regulations for distributing leaflets outside the works of Messrs. James Howden, engineers. After full investigation it was decided not to proceed with a prosecution, and the men were released and their property returned. With regard to the last part of the question, I am satisfied that no action on my part is called for.

Mr. Gallacher: Is it not a complete travesty of anything in the name of liberty and democracy? (Interruption.) On a point of Order, Mr. Speaker, when I am in the midst of asking a supplementary question, have I the right to claim your protection, if hon. Members interrupt me?

Mr. Speaker: The hon. Member is asking a supplementary question on a pure matter of opinion.

Mr. Gallacher: It affects the law of the country and the power of the police, and on that I am asking a question of the Secretary of State for Scotland.

Mr. Speaker: The right hon. Gentleman has replied, and in his supplementary the hon. Member asks a question which is a pure matter of opinion.

Mr. Gallacher: May I ask whether the Secretary of State for Scotland is prepared to take any action to stop this utterly unjustifiable

action on the part of the police?

Mr. Colville: I am fully aware of the circumstances of this case and, knowing the circumstances, I cannot describe the action of the police as unjustifiable.

Mr. Logan: In regard to the distribution of leaflets of this description when the nation is in such a dangerous position, can the right hon. Gentleman say that active steps are taken to protect law-abiding citizens?

Sir W. Davison: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a leaflet signed by Sir Oswald Mosley is being circulated asking that every opportunity should be taken by members of his organization to awaken the people and to demand peace?

Mr. McGovern: Can the right hon. Gentleman state how the Glasgow action compares with the Moscow action in regard to Trotsky?

Blackburn Quakers' Message

The following minute has been sent to the press on behalf of Blackburn members of the Society of Friends (Quakers):

Blackburn Friends assembled in their Meeting House this tenth day of ninth month, 1939, send friendly greeting to all men everywhere, combatants and non-combatants alike. We wish to place on record, at the beginning of a war which threatens to engulf the world, the knowledge given to us of the Spirit of God, that this war into which the people of the countries concerned have been forced or cajoled is not being waged and will not be waged for Truth and Justice despite whatever arguments may be used to the contrary.

So we call upon Friends and all men and women of good will everywhere, while advising them to regard carefully every precaution which may be considered necessary in the interests of public safety and the allaying of panic, to resist this war by using against it all the spiritual and mental powers they possess, seeking to bring it to an end by entreaty rather than by superior might or force.

Whatever distress or suffering we may be able to relieve let us be ready to relieve it, doing unto others as we would they should do unto us. If we ourselves should be called upon to suffer, may we be constant and faithful in that calling, having always in mind that petition of Him who hung on a cross for our salvation, "Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

STOP PRESS

CLACKMANNEN BY-ELECTION
(See Page 11)

Writ was issued on Wednesday. Polling will probably take place within a fort-

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